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The Pictorial Record of the Old West

VIII. CHARLES GRAHAM AND RUFUS F. ZOGBAUM

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We have already pointed out that during the 1880's there was a rising tide of interest in the plains country and the Rocky Mountains. 1 This was reflected in the illustrated press of the decade. *Harper's Weekly*, New York, for example, at that time the best known of American illustrated papers, used an increasing number of Western illustrations, and it was in this decade that the first of the Western illustrations by Frederic Remington and by Charles M. Russell, the most celebrated of the artists of the West, appeared in the pages of this "journal of civilization." 2

Remington's Western illustrations did not appear in any great number in this periodical until after 1885 and only one of Russell's appeared during the decade. But there were other Western illustrators who had achieved a considerable reputation in this field before Remington and Russell. Among these were W. A. Rogers, Charles Graham, Henry Farny and Rufus F. Zogbaum.

Rogers and Farny will be considered later in this series. Graham was the most prolific of Western illustrators during the 1880's and Zogbaum's work probably influenced later Western illustrators and we shall therefore consider their work here. 3

1. See the introductory paragraphs of No. V in this series, "Remington in Kansas," ibid., v. 16 (1948), May, pp. 113-120.

2. Remington's first illustration in *Harper's Weekly*, as already pointed out in this series, appeared in v. 26 (1882), February 25, p. 120. It was redrawn by W. A. Rogers. Russell's first illustration ("Caught in the Act") to appear in the Weekly will be found in v. 22 (1888), May 12, p. 340.

In 1880 four out of the some 900 illustrations in *Harper's Weekly* were Westerns. This number was undoubtedly low, for Western illustrations in considerable number had appeared in the 1870's. Even for 1881, however, the Western illustrations in the Weekly numbered only some eight out of nearly 1,500. By 1889, however, nearly 125 out of over 1,600 illustrations were Westerns.

3. In *Harper's Weekly* in the decade, 1880-1889, inclusive, Graham had some 120 Western illustrations; Remington had a few over 100, practically all in the four years 1886, 1887,
Charles Graham

From 1880 until 1893 Graham was one of the most prolific of Harper's Weekly illustrators. Nearly every issue contained a full page or a double-page spread by him. Presidential inaugurations, political conventions and other events of national interest were covered by this pictorial recorder. His most favored subjects, however, were city views, and he made sketches of many of the cities of the United States. As most of the illustrations were signed or credited in print to "Charles Graham," his name was, in that period, one of the best known in the country. Yet today his name is virtually unknown. He is not listed in any of the biographical directories of artists nor in the usual sources of biographical information, and none of the leading libraries of the country to which I wrote was able to furnish the simplest and most fundamental facts concerning him. Only by a circuitous correspondence extending over several years was a daughter of Graham located, and even she could not add much to my store of information. I therefore had to start from zero and piece together the following facts of his life.

Graham was a Westerner himself, for he was born in Rock Island, Ill., in 1852. He had a natural aptitude for drawing but never received any formal art training. One of his most memorable experiences as a young man was obtained as a topographer with a surveying party for the Northern Pacific railroad in the early 1870's. The Northern Pacific had reached Bismarck early in 1873, and surveys for the westward extension of the road were pushed into Montana and the Dakotas in 1888 and 1889; Zogbaum over 30; Farny nearly 30, and Rogers about a dozen. Rogers' contribution to Western illustration was made chiefly in the late 1870's and early 1880's. There were other Western illustrators working in this decade, also. Paul Frenzeny, whose work was described in the opening number of this series, continued to publish a few Westerns during the 1880's, and some very excellent Western mining illustrations by Alfred Mitchell appeared in the Weekly. Mitchell's illustrations, probably Colorado scenes, will be found in v. 32 (1887), April 26, p. 317; v. 33 (1888), September 29, p. 736. Mitchell's illustrations, probably Colorado scenes, will be found in v. 31 (1887), April 26, p. 317; v. 32 (1888), September 29, p. 737, December 15, p. 676 (a note on p. 959 identifies the locality as "a certain Colorado town"); v. 33 (1889), July 15, p. 55, and August 5, p. 621. Although I have made considerable search, so far I have uncovered no information about Mitchell at all other than the record of the above illustrations. A F. Harmer had a number of sketches of the Indian war in the Southwest; John Durkin of lumbering operations: William Gilbert Gaul of California scenes and Thomas Moran of Rocky Mountain scenery. Western illustrations from photographs also appeared more frequently as the decade advanced. Of the illustrators listed above, A. F. Harmer and Gilbert Gaul were probably the most important from the standpoint developed in this series of articles. A biographical sketch of Gaul (1853–1919) will be found in the Dictionary of American Biography, v. 7, p. 128, which states that Gaul achieved his reputation as a battle and military painter but spent much of his time in the Far West. "His illustrations of the life of the cowboy and the Indian were popular." I have seen relatively few of the latter. However, some of his Western illustrations will be found in Harper's Weekly, v. 32 (1888), October 27, pp. 812, 813; v. 33 (1889), March 23, p. 223 (illustration for Western fiction); in The Century Magazine, New York, vols. 20, 21 (1891, 1892), which are chiefly redrawn from earlier sketches; in The Cosmopolitan, v. 4 (1887–1888), pp. 26, 21, 92, 251, and most important of all, since they were drawn from life, two illustrations in color, "Sioux Camp" and "Sitting Bull," in Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed...Eleventh Census: 1890 (Washington, 1894), between pp. 222 and 223 and facing p. 574. (Gaul's work will also be considered later in this series.)

Harmer is not well known as his name does not appear in any of the lists, indices or biographical sources of information on artists. Dr. Arthur Woodward of the Los Angeles County Museum is collecting material for a biography of Harmer and has generously placed
tana and Idaho during the summer of that year. It seems probable that Graham was a member of that survey. Extensive army protection was provided for the surveying parties as Indian troubles—culminating in the Custer tragedy of 1876—were of common occurrence. Graham several times used his recollection of experiences on this trip in his subsequent drawings. Whether he made any sketches at the time is not now known.

Graham's professional career began as a scenic artist for Hooley's Theatre in Chicago, followed by several years' work in a similar capacity in the principal theaters of New York City. About 1877 he joined the art staff of Harper's Brothers and contributed for some 15 years solely to their publications, chiefly the Weekly.

After 1882 Graham became a free lance illustrator, contributing some of his notes at my disposal. I am indebted to him for most of the information which follows:

Alexander F. Harmer was born in Newark, N. J., on August 21, 1855, and died in Santa Barbara, Cal., January 8, 1886. He enlisted in the U. S. army in 1872 and again in 1881, and saw service in the West. Even as a younger he was interested in sketching, an interest which led eventually to a life profession. He had several years' training in the late 1870's in the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts. In 1881 he decided to become a painter of Western scenes. Illustrations by Harmer of the Apache war appear in Harper's Weekly, v. 27 (1885), p. 349, July 7, p. 417; August 4, p. 484. Illustrations by Harmer also appear in John G. Bourke's The Snake-Dance of the Mojaves of Arizona . . . (New York, 1884), and An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre (New York, 1886), many of which were made "on the spot" as Harmer saw service in the army during these years. Sketches and notes of his experiences during this period were later transcribed into oils and water colors. After 1890 he turned sympathetic eyes on the fast vanishing life of the old California families and of the missions and Mission Indians of California and his later career was devoted almost entirely to the reproduction in picture of these themes.

4. My information concerning Graham's part in the survey came originally from his daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Graham Hurhbert of Hartsdale, N. Y. Mrs. Hurhbert stated that Graham was a member of the Northern Pacific railroad survey under Gen. T. L. Rosser in 1873, but her recollection of the Northern Pacific, seems to establish conclusively that no surveys were made by the Northern Pacific in 1874 or 1875, as no reports of these years are on file in the company records. The failure of Jay Cooke & Co., the financial agents of the Northern Pacific, in 1873 resulted in the suspension of all construction work on the railroad after 1872, and until 1876. Rosser, according to company records, joined the Northern Pacific in 1871. (The Dictionary of American Biography, v. 16, p. 151, gives the date as 1872.) Reference to army protection in the N. P. survey of 1875 will be found in "Report of Lt. Gen. Sheridan," in Report of the Secretary of War, House Ex. Doc. No. 1, Pt. 2, 43 Cong., 1 Sess. (1873), pp. 40, 41. Some mention of the survey will be found in the Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, . . . for the Year 1873 (Washington, 1874), p. 41. For the part of Jay Cooke & Co. in the history of the Northern Pacific, see Eugene V. Smalley, History of the Northern Pacific Railroad (New York, 1888). Smalley's history is particularly adequate, however, on the survey and construction of the road.

Some information and confirmation of Graham's part in the N. P. survey will be found in the Minneapolis (Minn.) Journal, January 11, 1906, "Builders of N. P. Meet After 30 Years." This account described a reunion of early workers on the N. P., but the date of Graham's experience cannot be established from this account. Graham is referred to by name and by the description, "A young man, very short of stature and inclined to corpulence, who waddled along with a surveying party in Montana and Idaho, making their topographical maps, . . . The title of this account would place the original date as 1870; but the text states that the reunion was one of workers on the N. P. "prior to 1875." The survey in 1873, however, was made in Montana, from the accounts cited earlier in this note, and it therefore seems more probable that Graham was with it that year.

5. A brief biographical note in Harper's Weekly, v. 31 (1887), September 10, p. 643, states that Graham joined the Harper's Brothers staff "eleven years ago." Mrs. Hurhbert writes me that he joined Harper's staff in 1878. Graham's name first appeared in the Weekly, v. 21 (1877), June 2, p. 425, 426. W. Voglers was an intimate friend of Graham's in their early years on Harper's Weekly and in Rogers' book, A World Worth While (New York, 1902), he several times makes mention of "little Charley Graham" (pp. 16 and 247). Rogers confirmed the fact that Graham was a scenic artist before he joined Harper's staff. One of Graham's early illustrations (Harper's Weekly, v. 22 (1878), November 20, p. 503) depicted scene painters at work preparing stage backgrounds and drops.
drawings to Harper’s, Century, Collier’s and the New York Herald, and he did some work for the American Lithography Company. He took up oil painting late in life, his previous work being either from the pencil or by water colors. He died in New York City on August 9, 1911.6

Although Graham published literally hundreds of sketches, we are here interested primarily in those depicting the Western scene. At the outset it should be stated that Graham was an illustrator and not a historian. He made a number of Western tours in addition to his original trip of 1873 with the Northern Pacific survey, and on such journeys his pencil recorded many views which later became the bases for illustrations. In addition, photographs, the rough sketches of other artists and previously published illustrations were all, without doubt, used in the preparation of particular illustrations.

Without doubt, too, imagination provided detail in the preparation of many of the illustrations which finally found their way into print. All of which is to say that the event depicted in a given illustration was many times not an eye-witnessed event although from the title one could easily fall into the error of believing that such was the case. To be specific, one of Graham’s full-page illustrations was published on the cover of Harper’s Weekly, v. 31 (1887), September 3, “In Pursuit of Colorow.” Colorow, the Ute chief, had left the reservation and was on the warpath and the event was big domestic news. Graham, it is almost certain, was not in Colorado at the time, but he had been there and his sketch book undoubtedly contained Rocky Mountain scenes. The illustration shows a band of horsemen riding up a steep and rocky mountain road. The picture simply called attention to the news event but was not factual pictorial reporting.

A few months later a second Graham illustration with a background not greatly different was entitled, “Packing Cord-Wood Over the Rocky Mountains.” Although the backgrounds in the two illustrations are not identical, the chief differences in the two are in the figures depicted on the mountain road. Further, the Weekly

6. Most of this information comes from Mrs. Hurlbert who also writes me that Graham was an official artist for the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. It seems probable that Graham was a resident of California in the middle 1890’s. According to John F. Connolly, secretary, Graham was a member of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco from 1893 to 1896. He was not listed in New York city directories from 1892 to 1897 although he was for all other years from 1883 to 1906. The New York Public Library has informed me that the illustrated catalogues of the American Water Color Society show that Graham was entered in their annual exhibition in 1879, 1881, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1889 and 1891. Of these water colors, two are apparently Westerns: “Indian Camp” and “Nomads of the Wild West.” The New York Public Library also stated that Graham contributed illustrations to the Chicago Tribune, in addition to the publications stated above. An obituary of Graham will be found in the New York Herald, August 10, 1911.
stated in the text in connection with the second illustration, “taken on the spot by one of our artists.”

It seems necessary to explain this point at some length, for the practices of the pictorial press in the days before high-speed photography and half-tone reproduction were far different from those of today, since now the public insists on factual reporting, both pictorial and written. Indeed, in the early history of the pictorial press one occasionally encountered the depiction of the event before the event itself had transpired.

It should also be realized that Graham was not the only illustrator who used these methods which are contrary to current practice. For example, a Remington illustration in Harper's Weekly, v. 30 (1886), September 25, p. 617, was titled, “The Apache Campaign—Burial of Hatfield’s Men,” and depicted an event in the Apache war of the Southwest. The Weekly further stated that it was a “sketch . . . made on the spot.” Yet, an examination of Remington’s own diary (in the Remington Art Memorial, Ogdensburg, N. Y.), kept on this trip to the Southwest, shows that Remington did not arrive on the scene until nearly a month after the event had transpired. Under date of June 15, 1886, Remington recorded in his diary the story of the Hatfield fight and the burial of several of Hatfield’s men who were killed, as told to him by one “Private Kelly” of Fort Huachuca (in present southern Arizona) who had been one of the participants. As Remington did not reach Arizona until June 6 and the fight and burial depicted occurred on May 15 and 16, it is obvious that he was not an eyewitness of the event, even though the sketch may have been “made on the spot.”

It is only by careful study that any conclusion can be reached about the authenticity of many scenes depicted in the illustrated press of the period we have under consideration and many times the information available is not sufficient to reach a decision. We have, however, already pointed out in the opening article of this series that illustrations made by artists who were familiar with the contemporary scene, but not eyewitnesses, possess value but must not be regarded as true records of the events themselves.


An incident related by the illustrator Howard Pyle emphasizes with still greater clarity both the point made above and the one which follows in the text. In a letter dated August 4, 1886, Pyle related (Howard Pyle [Charles D. Abbott, New York, 1925], p. 100) that he went to New York City to see Charles Parsons, the art editor of the Harper publications. Parsons showed Pyle the engravings of illustrations of a Broadway procession that had not yet occurred, drawn from important viewpoints. Pyle dryly commented that “It struck me that this was a trifle previous and I asked Mr. Parsons what they would do if it rained.” Parsons pointed out that the sky in the engravings was not dead white so that the engravings could readily and rapidly be made to show either a clear day or a driving rain.
Possibly the greatest value of Graham’s Western illustrations at the time they were made was the emphasis which his town and city views placed on the fact that the West was growing up; that not all Western life was cowboy and Indian melodrama. The value of these illustrations at present therefore is that they show the development of the West.

In order to justify the importance attached to his illustrations, let us consider what facts there are that show that Graham had firsthand acquaintance with the West.

One of Graham’s early Western illustrations in the Weekly depicted “Ree Indians Crossing the Missouri in ‘Bull Boats.” A descriptive text accompanying the illustration reported that “our artist states that he once saw a band of these Indians defeat almost double their number of Sioux.” As the only Western experience that Graham had undergone prior to this time was that with the Northern Pacific survey in 1873, it seems plausible that this illustration was based on his memory or possibly even a field sketch made at that time. In either case, Graham may have been aided by the illustrations of George Catlin and of Karl Bodmer, both of whom had drawn somewhat similar scenes, and they were doubtlessly known and available to Graham.

Between the appearance of the above illustration in 1878 and the fall of 1883, Graham had several additional Western illustrations printed. Whether these were based on direct observation, it is difficult to tell. In the fall of 1883, however, Graham had a number of illustrations depicting various places of the celebration attendant upon the completion of the Northern Pacific railroad. Here there is positive evidence that Graham was present and these pictorial records we can reasonably believe are authentic. Particularly notable, from a historical standpoint, is an illustration...

8. Ibid., v. 22 (1878), May 4, pp. 352, 355.
9. Among these illustrations in Harper’s Weekly were: “Winter Railroad Travel in the Northwest [Possibly Minnesota or Dakota],” v. 27 (1883), January 27, p. 57; “A Snow-Slide in the Rocky Mountains,” February 17, p. 105, and sketches in and around Santa Fe, July 14, p. 445. Although not Western in the sense that we have defined the West, Graham had sketches of the northern shore of Lake Superior in Ibid., January 6, p. 8. The Wisconsin and Lake Superior region must have been visited on several occasions by Graham as he illustrated this country in both its summer and winter aspects a number of times; see ibid., v. 29 (1883), January 17, pp. 41 and 45, March 28, p. 196, August 22, pp. 533, 535, September 5, p. 588; v. 30 (1886), February 6, p. 81, June 2, pp. 360, 361; v. 31 (1889), August 31, p. 706, and September 25, p. 789. Graham also had an illustration of an Indian village, which may have been based on his experiences of 1873, in Harper’s Magazine, New York, v. 60 (1889), March, p. 496. Probably in the same class is the excellent illustration, “Indian Warfare—the Village,” Harper’s Weekly, v. 29 (1885), October 3, p. 652.
10. Helena (Mont.) Daily Herald, September 7, 1883; Harper’s Weekly, v. 27 (1883), September 15, p. 689, September 29, pp. 596, 601; September 30, p. 617, November 17, p. 725, November 24, p. 749; v. 28 (1884), January 19, p. 40, February 9, p. 96, June 14, p. 384, and August 2, p. 496. The last two illustrations are dated on the print “’83.” A note in the Weekly for November 17, 1883, p. 781, also specifically states that Graham was in the Pacific Northwest.
showing the driving of the golden spike on September 8, 1883, connecting the eastern and western links in the Northern Pacific system; an event of almost as great importance as was the joining of the Union Pacific rails with those of the Central Pacific fourteen years earlier.

Possibly the illustration "'Banking Up' for Winter in Dakota" belongs to this same group of sketches. In any case the scene depicted recalls an annual event of importance in the life of the early settlers on the northern plains.

It seems possible that Graham may have returned east by way of California and Colorado, over the Union Pacific, for there appear in the course of the next several years illustrations that confirm such a conjecture. "Telling the Red-Wood Trees of California"; "The Cliff House and Sutro Park, San Francisco, California"; "A Herd of Antelopes Delaying a Railway Train," the locality of which is identified as near Green River, Utah (reproduced in the picture supplement to this article, between pp. 224 and 225); "A Snow-Slide in the Rocky Mountains," which is identified as near Aspen, Colo.; "The Antlers, Colorado Springs," and "Irrigation in Colorado," form a series which, although not appearing in chronological order, might well have been the result of such a return trip.

In January of 1887 Graham made a winter trip to Yellowstone Park in company with the well-known photographer of the park, Frank J. Haynes. The party made a tour of the park on snowshoes and had the memorable experience of being "holed up" in the wilderness one night by a severe blizzard.

Following the Yellowstone Park trip, or possibly preceding it, Graham again visited Colorado, for there appears a notable group of illustrations of the city of Denver which are not only pleasantly decorative but are also well engraved. The Denver views were followed by a number of most interesting Colorado and Utah sketches, including: "Manitou, Colorado"; "Sketches in Utah"; "Cimarron,

11. Ibid., v. 30 (1886), January 16, p. 37.
12. In the order listed above the illustrations appeared in Harper's Weekly as follows: v. 30 (1886), October 30, pp. 760, 761; v. 31 (1887), April 30, p. 313; v. 28 (1884), February 2, p. 72; v. 29 (1886), February 18, pp. 104, 106, November 26, pp. 741 and 753. The return trip as suggested above is purely a conjecture. Graham may have made an independent trip to Colorado in the interval between the fall of 1883 and 1888, or the illustrations may have been drawn from photographs. Usually in the latter case, the Weekly specifically made the statement "after photographs." The fact that "A Snow-Slide in the Rocky Mountains" is identified as a real locality is fairly good evidence that Graham had at least visited Colorado; see ibid., February 18, 1886, p. 116.
13. In Harper's Weekly, v. 31 (1887), April 6, p. 249 (cover page), is the illustration credited to Graham. "The Yellowstone in Winter—A Surprise." On pp. 256, 257, are reproductions of a number of the Haynes' photographs in Yellowstone, one of which is entitled, "Our Artist." It shows an individual heavily dressed, on snowshoes, with a sketch book in hand. On p. 260 is a description of this trip which in a number of places mentioned "our artist."

Here we have a group of illustrations that certainly revealed a new aspect of the West to interested residents of the East. The Weekly remarked in connection with the Denver illustrations, “There is nothing Western about Denver . . . [a] pushing city of 60,000 . . . .” and expressed amazement at a well-known citizen of Philadelphia who had been heard to say, “Indians must be pretty bad around Denver now.” Then with the enthusiasm of a modern press-agent, the editorial writer concluded:

The Denver man is content with this fine city, fresh and bright from his own hands— . . . away from her he is never quite at ease, for . . . there comes to him the inevitable longing to again walk down her wide shaded streets, to hear the soft gurgle of running water, and to rest his eyes upon the massive beauty of the mountains hanging like huge purple clouds athwart the western sky. . . .

After these illustrations of 1887 and 1888, no Western illustrations of Graham’s appeared until 1890 when another group of South Dakota, New Mexico, Colorado and Pacific Coast sketches was published. A number of these are particularly striking and some were dated and the locality given by Graham—an unusual practice, but one which would make the work of the biographer far easier if it had been universally followed by all illustrators and artists.

“The Opening of the Sioux Reservation—Newly Arrived Settlers in the Territory [reproduced in the picture section, between pp. 224, 225],” depicts the arrival of settlers on the eleven million acres of the Sioux reservation in South Dakota opened to settlement February 10, 1890; “A Hunter’s ‘Shack’ in the Rocky Mountains”; sketches in and around Santa Fe and Las Vegas, “Harvey’s Ranch—The Highest in America,” and to my way of thinking one of the best of

14. In the order as listed above the illustrations appeared in Harper’s Weekly as follows: v. 31 (1887), April 23, pp. 266, 297 (the Denver views), July 29, p. 524. July 30, p. 540; v. 32 (1888), April 14, p. 272, October 27, p. 616, September 1, pp. 652, 653, and February 4, p. 85. The Denver Public Library has an original wash drawing of Graham’s dated 1887 which is called “Eastern Slope Marshall Pass—The Great Loop on the D. & R. G. R.R.” Miss Ina T. Aull of the Western History department informs me that it is the same view as shown in the last of the illustrations listed above and it is therefore probably the original from which the wood engraving was made.

15. Ibid., April 23, 1887, p. 269.

16. Graham was abroad in 1889. There is a group of English scenes, one of which is signed and dated by Graham, “Liverpool ‘89.”—Ibid., v. 33 (1889), December 28, p. 1941. Mrs. Hubert wrote me that her father was abroad several times.
all of Graham's illustrations, the "Interior of the Church at Acoma, New Mexico, During the Harvest Feast [reproduced in the picture section, facing p. 225]," all record various and different aspects of life in the West of many decades ago.17

Graham was back in New York City by early 1891, when a fire virtually destroyed "the Gilsey block on upper Broadway..." a building in which his studio was housed. Only by a miracle did Graham's belongings escape unscathed. The Weekly in commenting on Graham's narrow escape remarked:

The destruction of Mr. Graham's studio, with its fittings, would have been a great and irreparable loss, containing as it does his large collection of quaintly curious relics and models. Here he keeps the scraps and portfolios of twenty years of artistic work in a wide and varied field, many of the drawings depicting scenes of Western frontier life in an epoch now passed. With these is a large amount of fresh material gathered in Western journeyings through the past summer and autumn for Harper's Weekly.18

One can only express regret that these portfolios and sketches are now no longer available. Valuable pictorial records that would add to our understanding of past life and to the enjoyment of our present one are now as hopelessly lost as if they had been consumed by fire 60 years ago.

With these illustrations, Graham's career as a Western illustrator comes virtually to an end. During the next few years, 1891, 1892 and 1893, Graham's time was devoted almost exclusively to depiction of the Columbian World's Fair in Chicago. During 1891 many illustrations by Graham of proposed plans for the fair were published in Harper's Weekly; in 1892 Graham's pen recorded voluminously the progress in the construction of fair grounds and buildings, and in the year of the fair itself, as we have already pointed out, he served as an official artist of the exposition.19

17. The illustrations in the order given above appeared in Harper's Weekly, v. 34 (1890), March 8, p. 173, April 19, p. 293, July 19, p. 561 (Santa Fe), June 28, p. 496 (Las Vegas Hot Springs), July 5, p. 520 (Harvey's ranch), and August 2, p. 592. Some of the others included: "Sketches in New Mexico, Near Las Vegas," v. 34 (1890), July 12, p. 544; "Sketches at Santa Barbara, Southern California," August 23, p. 552; sketches at Spokane Falls and the Northwestern Exposition, September 6, pp. 690, 691; "Salmon-Fishing on the Fraser River, British Columbia," September 20, p. 722; "Golden Gate Park, San Francisco," September 20, p. 732; "Pueblo Farmers Watching Their Crops," October 4, p. 765; "The City of Los Angeles, California," October 18, pp. 898, 899, and probably belonging to the same group, "Sketches in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Vicinity," v. 35 (1891), August 1, p. 576. This last group is of additional value in that the sketches were reproduced in half-tone and not by woodcut and therefore give a record of Graham's very real skill as a draftsman.

The illustrations dated included one of the Harvey ranch group, "N. M., June 1st, 1890"; one in the group near Las Vegas, "N. M., May 15, 90"; one in the Santa Fe group, "Santa Fe, May 16, 90"; one of the Santa Barbara group, "Santa Barbara, June 4, 90," and one of the Los Angeles group, "Los Angeles, June 1st." Evidently Graham had a slip of memory in the first sketch which should probably be "May 1st." One of the San Francisco sketches also bears the letters "S. F." with his signature.

18. Ibid., v. 35 (1891), January 17, p. 39.

19. Some of Graham's drawings and paintings of the fair were published by the Winters Art Lithographing Company of Chicago; see Harper's Weekly, September 19, 1891, pp. 707, 708.
A number of California sketches appeared in the years he lived in California, probably 1893-1896, including the very celebrated "Midsummer Jinks of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco in the Redwoods." 20

The few scattered Western illustrations of Graham's that appeared between 1891 and 1900 which are worthy of note in our record include:

"Behind Time," probably an imaginary scene of a train delayed by snow or rain or other difficulties in the Rockies or Sierras.

"Over the Rockies in an Observation Car."

"The Great Glacier of the Selkirk, Manitoba."

"Busk Tunnel, Colorado," on the Colorado Midland railroad about twenty miles from Leadville.

"A Sand Storm of the American Desert," one of Graham's best, the reproduction of a water color. 21

After 1900 Graham appears to have devoted most of his time to the study of oil painting and his artistic labors resulted in the production of many Dutch and English scenes which are outside the scope of the present study. Appraisal of Graham's work as artist and illustrator is extremely meager. Pennell lists him as one of the American illustrators whose work could be technically studied with advantage, and his book, Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen, included one of Graham's drawings. W. A. Rogers, who knew Graham well, stated that Graham had the finest sense of perspective of any man he ever knew. Rogers, who was himself well acquainted with the West, had the following interesting comment on Graham's Western illustrations:

Graham never quite broke loose from the scenic foreground; but if one will pass over the inevitable tree and rock in the foreground of his pictures of the


21. The illustrations in the order listed above appeared in Harper's Weekly, v. 34 (1890), August 30, pp. 680, 681; v. 35 (1891), July 13, p. 540, September 19, a double-page supplement; v. 37 (1893), November 25, p. 1128, and v. 40 (1896), October 10, p. 996. The last picture is almost the final illustration of Graham's to appear in Harper's Weekly, the last ones being several Cuban illustrations which were published in the Weekly of 1898. Although most of Graham's Western illustrations have been listed in text or notes, there have been some omissions. Note, too, that there are probably Western illustrations of Graham's in other periodicals or newspapers than the Weekly that have not been caught. A more complete list of Graham's illustrations of all types than is given here for the decade 1890-1894 will be found in 19th Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature 1899-98 (New York, 1944), v. 1, pp. 1108, 1109.
Sierras and the Rockies one must admit that no truer pictures were ever made of the mountains in all their naked ruggedness.22

RUFUS FAIRCHILD ZOGBAUM

Zogbaum was primarily a military and naval artist, but as a result of his Western trips, made for the purpose of recording life in the United States army, there resulted a number of important Western pictures in addition to his military ones.

Zogbaum was born in Charleston, S. C., in 1849. An aptitude for drawing, which became apparent early in life, created a desire for an artistic career. His family was opposed to art as a profession, but he persevered in his ambition and the years 1878 and 1879 found him enrolled in the Art Students' League in New York City. He went to Paris in 1880 and entered the studio of Léon J. F. Bonnat, a celebrated French figure painter, best known for his small pictures of Italian life. Zogbaum said some years later:

... That was rather a queer apprenticeship for a young man who was to paint soldiers and sailors; but I was lonely in Paris and had friends at Bonnat's, so I went there.

During my two years in Paris I saw the work of De Neuville and Détaille, and that decided me to paint military scenes. ... In 1883 I went West and brought back a number of magazine articles, for various publishers. ... I furnished both text and pictures. The illustrated newspapers also took up a great deal of my time. ... life in a New York studio seems rather tame after years of outdoor existence upon the plains.23

The Western experiences to which Zogbaum refers included a trip—possibly several trips—to present Montana in the middle 1880's and a trip to present Oklahoma in 1888. As Zogbaum stated, he not only made many sketches on these trips, but he wrote frequently of his experiences so that we have a fuller record of his life in the West than we do of many of the artists and illustrators with whom we are concerned. Exasperatingly enough, Zogbaum

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23. These biographical facts concerning Zogbaum came from Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography (New York, 1886), v. 6, p. 662, and an interview (the quoted material above) by P. G. H., Jr., in an article "Rufus S. [sic] Zogbaum," The Book Buyer, New York, v. 12 (1895), April, pp. 132-135. P. G. H., Jr., was probably Philip G. Hubert, Jr., a frequent contributor to The Book Buyer. It should be noted that Zogbaum had already contributed a military illustration to the pictorial press before his Paris trip. "Artillery School for Militia, April 14, 1879," by Zogbaum had appeared in Harper's Weekly, v. 23 (1879), November 13, p. 804. The small item of information on Bonnat comes from Champkin's Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings, v. 1, p. 179.
could, with very little additional effort, have been more definite about time and place, but it was the style of writing in those days to refer coyly to a person by description rather than by name and to adopt fictitious names for localities.

From the first of his Western trips to Montana, there resulted the articles: "A Day's 'Drive' With Montana Cow-Boys," "A Night on a Montana Stage-Coach," "Across Country With a Cavalry Column," and "With the Blue Coats on the Border." 24

Despite the statement made by Zogbaum in the interview previously given that he first went to Montana in 1883, it seems more probable, after a study of those articles and the illustrations which accompany them, that he first visited Montana in the summer of 1884 and probably repeated these visits to the territory in several subsequent years. 25

The first of the articles is, in effect, an idealized story of an incident told from the standpoint of an artist; color, poses of cow-boys and animals, scenes and views, impressions and odors are written into the account. The incident upon which the account was based was the transfer of a herd of cattle from one feeding ground to another through a narrow mountain canyon. The locality—other than Montana—is not given and Zogbaum makes no direct statement that he was there, although it is obvious that he was an observer. The illustrations, like the description, are idealized, although it is obvious again that Zogbaum noted detail most carefully. In fact, in all his Western illustrations, Zogbaum tended to idealize characters and scenery. His horses are sleek, well-fed and well-groomed animals, his foreground scenery conventional.

But Zogbaum, unlike Graham, was willing to get off the beaten track and undergo the rigors of life on the trail, in camp and on stagecoach and, as a result, secured material that is of more than ordinary interest. He took the stage, possibly from Helena, for example, for some unknown destination and chose to sit with the stage driver. Their way led up a steep mountain road. It was night and a violent rainstorm broke upon them before they crossed the range. But Zogbaum stuck to his seat and even held the reins.

24. In the order stated above these will be found in Harper's Magazine, v. 71 (1885), July, pp. 188-193; Harper's Weekly, v. 20 (1885), August 29, p. 571; Harper's Magazine, v. 71 (1885), September, pp. 665-610; Ibid., v. 72 (1886), May, pp. 849-860. The last two articles, with additional illustrations and text, were later reprinted in Zogbaum's book, Horse, Foot, and Dragoons (New York, 1888).

25. The first article appeared in July, 1883, and the illustrations are dated '84 (Zogbaum, fortunately for the historian, dated nearly all his illustrations) and none of his Western sketches bear any earlier date. An incident to which Zogbaum refers in the fourth article listed above can definitely be dated as occurring in 1884; see Footnote 31.
as the driver got out to make adjustments to harness and coach. His conduct was approved by the driver who informed Zogbaum that he had no tenderfoot ways about him "like some o' them Eastern fellers that have been raised with lots of servants about them, and think God Almighty's sun only shines for them. Dignity will do very well in the East . . . but ther' ain't no room for it here. A man's got to rustle here, youbetcherlife." 26

Having thus placed his stamp of approval on his passenger, the driver needed no urging to spin yarn after yarn for Zogbaum, the storm having abated, and wound up by telling a hair-raising story of having been held up once in "Arizony." This yarn made so much of an impression on Zogbaum that, taken with his ride in an actual stagecoach, one of his most famous illustrations, "Hands Up," resulted. It appeared as a bold double-page illustration in Harper's Weekly for August 29, 1885, pp. 568, 569, and depicts the robbery of a stagecoach. It was not Zogbaum's first Western illustration in the Weekly, however, for two earlier ones had appeared: "General Grant's Death—The News in the Far West," and "Sheridan on the Plains." Both were imaginary scenes, but the background, no doubt, was supplied by Zogbaum's observations in Montana. 27

The two articles, "Across Country With a Cavalry Column" and "With the Blue Coats on the Border," show how much farther Zogbaum left the beaten trail in Montana. The first related his experiences "winding over the trackless prairie through the gray sagebrush," after traversing tracts of cactus desert, fording streams, climbing over mound-shaped buttes, crossing stretches of alkali dust and sticky mud, and plodding by the shadow of giant mountains.

Days pass in this way [wrote Zogbaum]. We cross the great plains, almost imperceptibly reaching a higher altitude day by day; we march over the divides and move up through the foot-hills, higher and higher into the mountains. Once, under the shadow of a huge mountain peak, we camp near a small military post, the officers of which bring their families to visit us, and it is a novel sight to our eyes to see delicate and refined ladies and pretty little children seated around our camp-fire, and listening to the lively music of a really excellent string-band, made up from among the enlisted men. Sometimes the line of our march takes us through great canions, by the sides of and through roaring streams, over steep and dangerous mountain trails, where the wagons often experience delay and difficulty in passing.

27. Ibid., August 8, 1885, pp. 520 and 528. The Sheridan picture was supposed to show the general in Oklahoma but Zogbaum supplied him with a Montana background, for it is almost the same as Zogbaum used in the illustration, "The Herd," for his article, "Across Country With a Cavalry Column" (see Footnote 24).
It has been possible to identify this expedition with considerable certainty, for a study of the Secretary of War's report for 1884 shows that an extensive movement of troops was under way in Montana in the summer of that year. The one accompanied by Zogbaum was the cross-country journey of the Second cavalry under Col. J. P. Hatch. These troops left Fort Custer in southeastern Montana on May 24 and traveled overland by way of Fort Ellis (possibly the post referred to by Zogbaum in the quotation given above) and Helena to Missoula, near the Montana and Idaho border, which they reached on June 18. At Missoula they entrained for duty in the Pacific Northwest. 28

Zogbaum used some fifteen sketches to illustrate his account of this trip and some are very effective. "Taps," "A Moment's Halt," and "The Ford," are all striking illustrations, although as usual his horses are all beautiful animals and his men all well attired, although in a variety of costumes. Zogbaum, however, called atten-

28. "Report of Brigadier-General Terry," in Report of the Secretary of War, House Ee., Doc. No. 1, 48 Cong., 2 Sess. (1884-1885), p. 112. The report of the Secretary of War for 1888 has also been examined and the above troop movement fits the facts as described by Zogbaum the most closely of any for the two years. As Zogbaum's account indicated, the expedition was of considerable size. The official report stated that Hatch's troops consisted of headquarters, field, staff, band, and Troops F, G, H, I, and L (joined by Troop E at Billings and B at Helena). The description of the route as given by Zogbaum would coincide with Hatch's movements. Further, since the second in command is referred to by Zogbaum as "the senior major" would require an officer of still higher grade as the leader. Zogbaum refers to "our chief" as an officer of great service, "the snows of forty years of active service in field and garrison crowning his head. . . ." Hatch, according to the Dictionary of American Biography, v. 6, pp. 392, 393, retired in 1886 as the commanding officer of the Second cavalry. He was graduated from the military academy at West Point in 1846 and had seen service in the Mexican war, the Civil War and had had 20 years of the life of a professional soldier on the plains after the Civil War. Further, Zogbaum quoted the cock of the officers' nets as addressing his commanding officer as "Shenandoah." Hatch had been brevetted both as a brigadier general and major general for service in the Civil War.

The second in command of the Second cavalry would, of course, be the lieutenant colonel, who in 1884 was Andrew J. Alexander. In fact the Official Register for January, 1884 (p. 53) shows the Second cavalry as John P., J. Alexander, lieutenant colonel; James S. Brisbane, Eugene M. Baker and David S. Gordon, majors ranked in the order given. An examination, however, of the Army & Navy Journal, New York, for 1883 and 1884 shows that Col. Alexander was almost continually on sick leave and on December 31, 1883, was granted a six-months' sick leave (bid., January 5, 1884, p. 484) which in July, 1884, was extended for another six months (bid., July 19, 1884, p. 1037). This absence of Col. Alexander in 1884 would leave Major Brisbane as the "second in command." Brisbane, however, was on detached duty at the time of the overland trip in 1884, for he left Fort Ellis, Montana, for Pocatello, Idaho, with Troop D of the Second cavalry on May 26, 1884 ("Report of Brigadier-General Terry," loc. cit.), which would leave Major Baker as the second in command on the overland trip from Fort Custer to Missoula.

Further, and this point is the clincher, Zogbaum described the second in command as "a brave and unassuming soldier, whose bloody encounters with the savage foe of the pioneer form part of the history of the great Northwest." He will be long and kindly remembered by his comrades. He has made his report to the Great Captain since then, and has joined the grand army of the dead." As Zogbaum's article was published in September, 1885, the second in command had died between the summer of 1884 and September, 1885. According to the Army & Navy Journal (December 27, 1884, p. 451), Maj. E. M. Baker, Second cavalry, died at Fort Walla Walla on December 19, 1884. This account further stated that Baker was brevetted colonel on December 1, 1868, "for zeal and energy while in command of troops operating against hostile Indians in 1866, 1867, and 1868." Since the [Civil War] his record was one of arduous service on the frontier. I consider that the review of the facts given here establishes the identity and date of the expedition that Zogbaum accompanied with certainty.

In Zogbaum's book, op. cit. (p. 153), there is an added paragraph not present in the original Harper's Magazine version which stated that Zogbaum took leave of the Second cavalry "on the edge of a forest in northern Idaho," and inferred that the locality was on the line of the newly-finished Northern Pacific. Evidently Zogbaum entered with the troops at Missoula (some 40 miles from the Montana-Idaho border) and rode with them some distance westward.
tion in his writing to both of these features for he commented on
the excellent mounts provided by the army. When abroad Zogbaum
had visited a number of European troops and as a result was greatly
concerned over the informality of dress affected by the frontier
troops. He noted slouch felt hats, forage caps, white sun helmets,
a cowboy hat and even a civilian straw hat among the headgear
worn by the cavalrmen with an almost equal latitude in many of
the other accessories of dress.

We cannot help smiling [he wrote] as we think of what the astonishment
of some of our European friends—the natty English artilleryman, the dash-
ing French chasseur, or closely buttoned, precise German dragoon—would be,
could they be dropped down here in front of this command, and how they
would inwardly comment in no very favorable terms on the appearance of
Uncle Sam’s troopers in the field. And we cannot help but ask, and we do so
in all good feeling, would it not, without carrying the “pomp and circum-
stance” of military life to the extreme that our more warlike neighbors do,
be of equal practical benefit to the comfort and health of the soldier, and
more productive of a feeling of soldierly self-respect, if a little more uni-
formity, a little more attention to details, and greater regard for appearance,
even in the field, and on such rough service as our little army, unlike the Eu-
pean services, is so constantly engaged in, were insisted on.29

It is doubtful if Zogbaum’s advice had any effect in producing a
nattier appearance of the U. S. troops as they plodded across the
dry and dusty Western sagebrush plains, but at least the artist had
done his best to make neater and more attractive soldiers.

In “With the Blue Coats on the Border,” Zogbaum continued the
account of his travels through Montana. He may have wanted a
more idyllic world but he was a glutton for punishment in seeing
what there was of the Montana world of 1884, for this account
described a horseback ride from an army post—possibly Fort
Maginnis—northward to the Missouri river, a 40-mile ride made in
a driving rain. Here, when the Missouri was reached, he caught a
river boat and descended the river to another army post. Here
again Zogbaum did not identify the locality but it seems certain
that the army post was Camp Poplar River, near the Fort Peck
reservation and agency for Sioux and Assiniboines.30

29. Zogbaum, op. cit., p. 118. That Zogbaum’s comment on “our little army” was cer-
tainly true is shown by the fact that on November 1, 1884, the U. S. army totaled 3,147
officers and 24,286 enlisted men.—“Report of the Lieutenant-General of the Army,” in Report
30. Many years later Zogbaum stated that he had visited Poplar River (Scribner’s Maga-
azine, New York, v. 57 [1915], January, p. 10) but contemporary evidence is furnished by a
Zogbaum sketch belonging to his daughter, Mrs. Linboth (see Footnote 32), which bears the
inscription, “The Captured Cayuse—Camp Poplar River M. T. 1884.” Mrs. Linboth
writes, “The cayuse is anything but sleek or well groomed.”

In the summer of 1884 some companies of the 15th U. S. infantry were stationed at Camp
Poplar River.—Report of the Secretary of War, loc. cit., pp. 62, 113. The identification of
Fort Maginnis above is largely a guess; Zogbaum mentioned Fort Maginnis in one of his
articles and it appears to be the only army post forty miles back of us [from the Missouri]
over the prairie.”
On the down-river trip, too, Zogbaum heard of the work of the vigilantes, those roused ranchmen of Montana, who, infuriated by the constant loss of cattle and horses, took the law into their own hands and destroyed a number of the thieves. Zogbaum even saw one of the bodies of the desperados as it hung from a tree beside the river.\textsuperscript{31}

With these sights, Zogbaum's Western sketchbook must have been bulging at the seams, but after several days spent at the army post he resumed his down-river journey, past more Indian villages and trading posts, until a railroad to the East was reached.

The most notable of the illustrations published with the article included: "The Vigilantes" (showing a group of cattlemen with a burning ranch house in the distance); "A Race With the Boat" (an Indian camp and two Indian boys mounted on a horse), and "The Captives" (rustlers captured by a squad of soldiers; an event which Zogbaum witnessed).\textsuperscript{32}

It seems probable that Zogbaum visited Montana again in several subsequent years, as a steady stream of his Montana illustrations appeared in the years 1885, 1886 and 1887, and on a number of occasions he wrote of other Western experiences. He had, however, covered so much Montana territory in 1884 that his accumulated notes and field sketches would have been sufficient to supply the background material for all this published work. But he had, as we have already pointed out, in his published interview of 1895, spoken of "years of outdoor existence upon the plains," which, if he was correctly quoted, makes it certain that he spent more than the one summer in Montana. His additional experiences, as he described them, also lend support to this belief.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{31} Zogbaum's comment on the vigilantes is additional evidence on the date of the trip for, according to Granville Stuart in \textit{Forty Years on the Frontier} (Cleveland, 1905), the vigilantes were at work in July, 1884. Zogbaum mentioned the night before the river boat on which he was a passenger reached a small camp, one "Billy D——" had been taken by the vigilantes and hanged. Stuart, v. 2, p. 206, stated that Billy Downs was hanged by the vigilantes on the night of July 4, 1884. Zogbaum mentioned the still burning ruins of "the Jones boys' ranch." Stuart (pp. 207-209) described the destruction of the 
\textit{James} family (father and two sons) and their allies. Zogbaum further mentioned the fact that the vigilantes hailed the river boat which stopped for them and their leader, "a tall, handsome, blond-haired man, flannel-shirted, high-booted, with crimson silk kerchief tied loosely, sailor fashion, around his sunburnt neck...", who asked for upriver news. "Many on board recognize him," wrote Zogbaum, "for a man of wealth and education well known in the Territory."

\textsuperscript{32} The second illustration does not appear in the original article in \textit{Harper's Magazine} but does in \textit{Horse, Foot, and Dragoons}, p. 157.

\textsuperscript{33} I have been in correspondence with Mr. Harry St. Clair Zogbaum and Mrs. Kate Zogbaum Limboth, children of R. F. Zogbaum, who supplied me with personal recollections of their father and of his Western experiences. Both have examples of their father's watercolor sketches of the period under discussion and I am indebted to both for their kindness and courtesy in supplying such information as they possess. Neither Mr. Zogbaum or Mrs. Limboth, however, could supply me with information concerning the number of Montana trips made by their father.

Mrs. Anne McDonnell of the Historical Society of Montana has spent considerable time searching Montana newspapers of this period to see if contemporary mention of Zogbaum...
A photograph taken in 1888, courtesy of Mrs. Elihu
(1866-1911)

Charles Graham

A photograph made in the early 1880s, courtesy of
(1849-1923)

Mrs. Kate Zogbaum Lambooth, of New York City.

Rufus Partridge Zogbaum
Zogbaum’s Conception (1901) of “The Defeat of Roman Nose by Colonel Forsyth on the Arickaree Fork of the Republican River, September, 1868”

A battle near the northwest corner of Kansas in which Kansas volunteers took part. Reproduced from the original drawing by courtesy of the Library of Congress.
Among these experiences related by Zogbaum are tales of trout fishing, prairie chicken shooting, overland travel on the Northern Pacific and campfire stories, all, of course, with appropriate illustrations.  

Montana illustrations and others of the “Northwest” appearing in the illustrated press of the period, some of which were not accompanied by articles written by Zogbaum, included:

1. “Indian Warfare—Discovery of the Village.”
2. “Shooting Prairie-Chickens in Montana.”
3. “Trout-Fishing in Montana.”
4. “Painting the Town Red.” [Reproduced in the picture section.]
6. “The Old Bone Man of the Plains.” [Reproduced on the cover of this issue.]
7. “After the Blizzard.” [Reproduced in the picture section.]
10. “A Horse Auction on the Frontier.”
11. “Cavalry Caught in a Blizzard.”
13. “A Present to the Company Commander.”

All these illustrations appeared in Harper’s Weekly between 1885 and 1889. Three of them were huge double-page pictures (“Painting the Town Red,” “After the Blizzard,” and “Cavalry Caught in a Blizzard”); all the rest were large full-page ones, several occupying the cover page, with the exception of the small “Shooting Prairie-Chickens in Montana.” Outside the intrinsic interest of the illustrations themselves, the ones listed above and those previously discussed are important because they set a pattern for Western illustrations for a good many years to come. They called attention by their sheer number to the activities of the army in the West and to other aspects of Western life. Sporadic illustrations of Western army activities had, of course, appeared before the Zogbaum sketches, but his plan to combine both writing and illustration placed a greater

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34. To complete the bibliography of Zogbaum’s Western writings up to 1880, we should cite: “An Evening Among the ‘Chickens’ in Montana,” Harper’s Weekly, v. 20 (1885), October 10, p. 670; “A Day’s Trout-Fishing in Montana” (the locality is identified as Fort Missoula), ibid., v. 20 (1885), July 10, p. 442; “On the Modern ‘Ship of the Plains’,” ibid., November 13, p. 731; “How the Sergeant Shot the Bear,” ibid., v. 22 (1889), January 5, p. 7.

35. In the order listed above these appeared in Harper’s Weekly as follows: v. 20 (1885), September 19, p. 618, October 10, p. 668; v. 20 (1885), July 10, p. 445, October 16, pp. 668, 669, November 13, p. 728; v. 21 (1887), January 15, p. 86, March 12, pp. 184, 185, April 23, p. 289, July 20, p. 541, December 24, p. 944; v. 22 (1889), January 28, pp. 64, 66, August 11, p. 585; v. 33 (1890), January 5, p. 1.
emphasis than ever before on this phase of American life. Then, too, his cowboy sketches added to a mounting and intense interest that was to develop into a grand American obsession. True again, there had been earlier illustrators of the cowboy. We have already called attention in this series to the illustrations of Frenzeny and Tavernier and of Henry Worrall in the early 1870's who had depicted activities of cowboys. W. A. Rogers, who will be discussed later, also had published cowboy illustrations as early as 1879 and 1880, but the great flood of cowboy illustrations did not come until Zogbaum had set the pattern.

Probably the most important of the Zogbaum illustrations in this respect was his large and vigorous, "Painting the Town Red." If there had been earlier portayers of the activities of cowboys than Zogbaum, this illustration was one of the earliest, if not the earliest, to show the cowboy at play. Four cowboys are depicted at full gallop through the main street of a small frontier town. One cowboy is shown reaching for the flying queue of a hastily retreating Chinaman, another is quiring his horse to still greater speed, a third is yelling, and the fourth is blazing away into the air with his six-shooter. Soldiers, Indians, prospectors and less picturesque citizens line the street.

Such a view crystallized and confirmed the popular conception of the cowboy. The appearance of this large and bold illustration in the most widely read pictorial magazine of its day set the mold for future writers and illustrators. Frederic Remington, for example, the best known of the Western illustrators, "borrowed" Zogbaum's theme a few years later for his "Cow-boys Coming to Town for Christmas," which is almost a duplicate of Zogbaum's picture.36

Remington, of course, early made the cowboy a subject of his illustrations. His professional career really dates from 1886 and in that year his first cowboy illustration appeared.37 It was his well-known "In From the Night Herd," and it was not long before other of his illustrations in the same field followed.38

Other artists and illustrators, too, could follow the path laid out

36. The Remington illustration, also a double-page feature, will be found in *ibid.*, v. 33 (1889), December 21, pp. 1016, 1017. The original sketch, "Painting the Town Red," is now in the possession of Mrs. Limboch. It measures 15½ x 13½ inches.

37. His first, if we except the sporadic illustration published in 1882 in *Harper's Weekly* (and previously mentioned) which was redrawn by W. A. Rogers. It is in style and manner a Rogers illustration and not a typical Remington.

38. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 30 (1889), October 9, p. 645. Probably Remington's first illustration of cowboys at "play" was his "A Queried Over Cards—A Sketch From a New Mexican Ranch," *ibid.*, v. 31 (1887), April 23, p. 301.

It should, of course, be pointed out that the earlier cowboy illustrations mentioned above in the text were the cowboys of Texas, Kansas and Colorado. Cowboys of Montana were unknown in 1850, according to Granville Stuart (*Forty Years on the Frontier*, v. 2, p. 158).
by Zogbaum and then by Remington without the necessity of personal inspection, for art magazines were advertising: "Cowboy, Round-up and Cattle Photographs—Sixty Subjects. Splendid Studies for Painting. Send for Circular. Harve and Breckans, Box 410, Cheyenne City, Wyoming." Even one of the greatest of American painters of the nineteenth century, Thomas Eakins, became interested in painting the cowboy after some months spent in the Bad Lands of Dakota territory in 1887.

In addition to "Painting the Town Red," several other Zogbaum illustrations in the group listed on p. 225 deserve more than mere listing. "The Modern Ship of the Plains" and "The Old Bone Man of the Plains," for example, again record a different and, at that time, a changing aspect of life in the West (see picture section and cover of this magazine).

The first of these two illustrations shows the interior of a west-bound emigrant car. The emigrants—Germans, Scandinavians, Scotch, English, Irish—were housed in a car of a Northern Pacific train that had left St. Paul for the "Wild West" (Zogbaum's words) at "four p.m. . . . on a bright afternoon in May." If we can accept the date of the illustration, the year was 1885.

Zogbaum, feeling at peace with the world, left his comfortable Pullman and pushed his way through the cluttered vestibule of the emigrant car. He noted that no attempt had been made at ornamentation or upholstering in the car, "but everything seems strong and well made." He commented on the fact that overland emigrants not many years earlier had been forced to undergo the trials and rigors of ox-train travel across the plains and that by contrast the "new" method was luxury. Well, probably it was. But only a very who also gives a good word picture of cowboy life in Montana as he witnessed it in the 1880's (ibid., pp. 175-188).

The article that accompanied "Painting the Town Red," written by G. O. Shields, did nothing to change the conception of the cowboy prevalent in the middle 1880's and which, of course, is still prevalent in the movies and "slick" fiction. The cowboy, according to these sources, was a rough and ready customer, the possessor of a crude wit and an individual who was always ready to draw and shoot on the slightest provocation. Shields attempted to defend and change the popular opinion and started out his defense by stating that cowboys "as a class are brimful and running over with wit, merriment, good-humor," but he goes on to recount that cowboys once boarded a train and forced Theodore Thomas and his orchestra, who were passengers, to give an impromptu concert on the plains. With similar yarns Shields actually built up the contemporary conception and even an account of a "gentlemanly" cowboy, the celebrated Howard Eaton, did little to change this conception. There were serious contemporary accounts of the changing character of the cowboy, however, as witness the article by Joseph Nimmo, Jr., in Harper's Magazine, v. 78 (1888), November, pp. 880-884.


41. Harper's Weekly, v. 30 (1886), November 13, p. 731. The illustration was on p. 728 as already noted. It may be recalled that Frenzeny and Tavernier, some dozen years earlier, had attempted the same theme. Their illustration, "In the Emigrant Train," ibid., v. 13 (1874), January 24, p. 76, is small and not as successful in treatment as is Zogbaum's.
few years before Zogbaum had made his observations, a Scotch emigrant had written his experiences of actual travel in an overland emigrant train. If Zogbaum stressed the relative luxury of the emigrant or if we think too highly of the importance and the glamour of the Old West, let's listen to the counter statement of the dour Scotchman:

All Sunday and Monday we travelled through these sad mountains, or over the main ridge of the Rockies, which is a fair match to them for misery of aspect. Hour after hour it was the same unhomely and unkindly world about our onward path; tumbled boulders, cliffs that drearily imitate the shape of monuments and fortifications—how drearily, how tamely, none can tell who has not seen them; not a tree, not a patch of sward, not one shapely or commanding mountain form; sage-brush, eternal sage-brush; over all, the same weariful and gloomy colouring, greys warming into brown, greys darkening towards black; and for sole sign of life, here and there a few fleeing antelopes; here and there, but at incredible intervals, a creek running in a cañon. The plains have a grandeur of their own; but here there is nothing but a contorted smallness. Except for the air which was light and stimulating, there was not one good circumstance in that God-forsaken land.

When night advanced, the weary travelers sought rest:

The lamps did not go out; each made a faint shining in its own neighborhood, and the shadows were confounded together in the long, hollow box of the car. The sleepers lay in uneasy attitudes; here two chums alongside, flat upon their backs like dead folk; there a man sprawling on the floor, with his face upon his arm; there another half seated with his head and shoulders on the bench. The most passive were continually and roughly shaken by the movement of the train; others stirred, turned, or stretched out their arms like children; it was surprising how many groaned and murmured in their sleep; and as I passed to and fro, stepping across the prostrate, and caught now a snore, now a gasp, now a half-formed word, it gave me a measure of the worthlessness of rest in that unresting vehicle. Although it was chill, I was obliged to open my window, for the degradation of the air soon became intolerable to one who was awake and using the full supply of life. . . .

In "The Old Bone Man of the Plains," Zogbaum added another invaluable aspect of changing conditions. The bone picker—a gatherer of buffalo bones—was following in the wake of the vanished herds which by 1887 (the year the illustration was published) had virtually disappeared from the face of the plains. The uncounted millions which once roamed the Western world lay as whitening bones among the sagebrush and the buffalo grass.42

42. This was Robert Louis Stevenson, whose overland trip was made in the summer of 1879 on the Union Pacific rather than the Northern Pacific. See his essay, "Across the Plains," in The Travels and Essays of Robert Louis Stevenson (New York, 1918), v. 15, pp. 90-148 (the essay first appeared in Longman's Magazine, London, July and August, 1889) and v. 26, pp. 169, 170. It should, of course, be pointed out that Stevenson's account was influenced by the fact that he was ill and desperately fatigued by the overland journey.

43. In the note accompanying this Zogbaum illustration (Harper's Weekly, v. 31 [1887], January 15, p. 39) the statement is made that in the season 1880-1884 the Northern Pacific
Zogbaum's next Western experiences carried him to the Indian territory and the Oklahoma country. The efforts of the Boomers to open this section of the West to white settlement had been continued almost without letup during the 1880's, and the federal government had at last announced that on April 22, 1889, the country would be thrown open to land-hungry emigrants. The great Oklahoma rush followed.44

Zogbaum visited this region late in 1888 and there appeared in Harper's Weekly a group of Oklahoma illustrations which have the appearance of field sketches—including the titles:

1. "A Chase After Boomers."
2. "A Crossing on the Canadian."
3. "Relay House on the Mail Route Between Fort Reno & Oklahoma."
5. "Camp of the 5th U. S. Cavalry at Taylor's Springs Near Guthrie."
6. "Near the Cimarron."

These were soon followed by a number of other illustrations depicting incidents in the same region, including:

1. "Cheyenne Scouts at Drill."
2. "Arrest of an Illicit Trader in the Indian Territory."
5. "On the Road to the Agency."
6. "Indian Freighters."
7. "A Policeman."
8. "A Farm-House."
9. "Running the Wild Turkey in the Indian Territory."

shipped nearly 8,000 tons or 800 cars of buffalo bones. The bones were converted to bone black, used in sugar refineries and other industries. Col. Henry Inman in The Old Santa Fe Trail (Topeka, 1899), p. 208, stated on the basis of freight reports of Kansas railroads, that some 300,000 tons of buffalo bones, which he estimated represented $1,000,000 animals, were shipped from Kansas alone in the decades when bone gathering formed a means of livelihood or a welcome supplement to a livelihood on the plains.

44. For a review of these affairs, see R. H. Richardson and C. C. Rister, The Greater Southwest (Glendale, Calif., 1934), ch. 25, "Oklahoma Boomers and Eighty-niners." A more extended account of the "Boomer" movement is given in C. C. Rister's Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers (Norman, Okla., 1942).

45. Six illustrations on one page, Harper's Weekly, v. 33 (1889), April 13, p. 280. These sketches are not dated, as was the usual practice of Zogbaum. All the remaining Zogbaum illustrations of the period described in the text are dated "89".

The date of Zogbaum's Indian territory trip is had from a letter in Mrs. Limbooth's possession which Zogbaum addressed to his wife. It is headed, "In camp, 6th Cav. Ind. Terr. Oct. 10, 1889."

46. In the order listed these appeared in Harper's Weekly as follows: v. 33 (1889), May 25, p. 405, July 6, p. 544, August 3, p. 613; v. 84 (1890), January 4, pp. 8-11 (Nos. 4-5); v. 40 (1890), December 5, p. 1155. The last illustration listed above is dated "90" and may represent the result of another trip to the Indian country but as there are no companion pieces for 1890 I scarcely think there was an 1890 trip. Moreover, Zogbaum had an illustration in ibid., v. 33 (1889), April 6, p. 257, "Hunting Wild Turkey by Moonlight," which was probably based on his trip to the Indian territory in 1888; his experiences on this trip doubtlessly gave rise to the latter illustration (that of 1890).

It is interesting to note that Remington had an illustration, "Cheyenne Scouts Patrolling the Big Timber of the North Canadian, Oklahoma," in ibid., April 6, pp. 264, 265, over a month before Zogbaum's illustration, "Cheyenne Scouts at Drill," listed above. There is no similarity, however, in the two illustrations. Remington also had an illustration somewhat similar to Zogbaum's "A Beef Issue in the Indian Territory," in ibid., v. 36 (1892), May 14, p. 461, "The Beef Issue at Anadarko." The locality of the two were not the same, however, as Zogbaum's was made near Fort Reno. The beef issue as an Indian agency, however, was depicted by other artists in addition to these two.
The first of these illustrations, according to *Harper’s Weekly*, was made by Zogbaum "with his customary fidelity to facts derived from personal observation." Other similar comments on Zogbaum’s work can be found. Even if he tended to idealize his subjects, his details are in general correct.47

Zogbaum described some of his experiences on this trip to Oklahoma in an article, "Life at an Indian Agency," and five of the illustrations listed above (Nos. 4 to 8, inclusive) accompany the article.48 The agency was located at Darlington, near Fort Reno, Oklahoma. The Indians, Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes, received a beef distribution every Monday at Darlington at "an isolated spot on the prairie, some distance from the agency," and his written description continued:

Wagons—sometimes of the newest and most approved patterns, at others the vilest rattletaps to be found on four wheels, filled with squaws and drawn by all kinds of teams, from the piebald, wall-eyed, pink-nosed ponies, to the patient and more or less broken-down mules, occasionally both horses and mules hitched to the same outfit—are crowded around the rough "corral" or fenced-in space on the prairie where the cattle are herded together, and over which, far up in the clear air, ragged-winged buzzards are circling. Mounted Indians gallop up, some armed with revolvers, others with carbines, and perched high up on the backs of their horses, ready for the exciting sport of pursuing and slaughtering the wild-eyed, long-horned Texas steers, that move restlessly about the narrow limits of the corral, bellowing nervously as if in dread anticipation of their doom.

Rapidly following one another, the brutes are released one by one through the gate opened at intervals by a nimble policeman, who frequently has to exert all his agility to escape the angry sideward thrust of their horns as the cattle rush through the narrow opening. Some of them dash frantically out over the plain, bellowing furiously and throwing up the dirt and dust with the sharp points of their cloven hoofs; others stop for a moment bewildered, foaming at the mouth and snorting with fear and rage, and then gallop away. Indians mount rapidly and start after, revolver or carbine in hand, and a regular hunt in all directions over the rolling prairie in front of us begins, as the maddened brutes vainly endeavor to escape from their ruthless pursuers.

Zogbaum, who had been driven out from Fort Reno in an army ambulance to witness the "Wild West" hunt, was well satisfied with his transportation. It provided excellent accommodations for making notes and sketches even though the Indians were none too expert marksmen and the Texas steers no respectors of "government ambulances or ‘special artists’."

47. The phrase quoted above is from *Ibid.*, v. 23 (1889), May 25, p. 411.
The four illustrations included directly with this article (Nos. 5 through 8 in the list above) are particularly interesting as they have the appearance of field sketches made on the spot and are therefore, from our point of view, of primary historical importance.

In the late 1880's and early 1890's there appeared a considerable number of Zogbaum "Westerns." Most of these are of so general a character that, although of interest, no definite locality other than West can be given them. A few of the more striking ones, several double-page, included:

1. "Cavalry on the March—Danger Ahead."
2. "A Bad Crossing."
3. "Clearing the Way."
4. "Meeting With the Old Regiment."
5. "The Corporal's Christmas Dinner." 49

Beginning about 1895, Zogbaum began illustrating Western fiction, short stories for the most part, written by various authors. Some of these illustrations are most interesting as Zogbaum was utilizing his knowledge of Western travel, adventure and study as the background for these imaginary situations. 50

In a somewhat similar group were illustrations made by Zogbaum for factual articles written on the West, particularly the military West. One of these is reproduced in this article (between pp. 224, 225, "The Defeat of Roman Nose by Colonel Forsyth on the Arickaree Fork of the Republican River, September, 1868," which was drawn to illustrate an article by Gen. F. V. Greene on "The United States Army." 51 It is reproduced because it is one of the few original Western drawings or paintings of Zogbaum's that I have been able to locate, although it is known that Zogbaum held at least one exhibition of his original work, several of the pictures being Western scenes in water color. 52 The original of the Colonel Forsyth battle picture is a wash drawing, measuring 15 7/8 x 11 1/4 inches and is now in the prints division of the Library of Congress.

49. In the order listed these appeared in Harper's Weekly, v. 33 (1889), September 28, pp. 775, 777; November 16, pp. 916, 917; v. 34 (1890), March 29, pp. 249, 241, June 7, p. 449; v. 35 (1892), December 27, p. 1216.

50. An extensive bibliography of Zogbaum's illustrations and his own writings in the decade 1880-1890 will be found in the 19th Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature 1890-99, v. 2, pp. 1553, 1564.

51. The illustration and accompanying article will be found in Scribner's Magazine, v. 30 (1901), November, pp. 609-612.

52. Harper's Weekly, v. 36 (1892), April 23, p. 387. The New York Public Library has also a Catalogue of Original Drawings and Water Colors by Rufus Fairchild Zogbaum, being a list of his pictures on sale at the American Art Galleries, New York City, January 22, 1897. The Catalogue included some Westerns, three of which were scenes connected with the Wounded Knee Indian "Campaign" of 1890. Whether these were drawn from direct observation I have not been able to determine.
As the 1890’s advanced, Zogbaum devoted more and more of his talent to purely military and naval scenes. With the coming of the Spanish-American war his Western illustrations practically disappeared. As a military artist he won wide renown. In fact, so celebrated did he become that Kipling wrote a poem concerning his work, after both he and Zogbaum visited Capt. Robley Evans, the celebrated naval hero. The poem begins:

Zogbaum draws with a pencil,
And I do things with a pen,
But you sit up in a conning tower,
Bossing eight hundred men.\textsuperscript{53}

Despite the fact that Zogbaum was a well-known figure of his day, there has appeared no adequate biography since his death in New York City on October 22, 1925.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{53} The Outlook, New York, v. 61 (1899), February 4, p. 284.

\textsuperscript{54} A biographical sketch of Zogbaum appears in the Dictionary of American Biography, v. 20, pp. 658, 659. The sketch makes no mention of Zogbaum’s contribution to Western illustration.